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that the wife of a maternal uncle may likewise claim his nephew as "son-in-law."[1]

### Brothers-in-law and Sisters-in-law

The mutual regard between brother and sister is said to have been reflected not only through the carrying out of the obligations of the avunculate and amitate in the spirit of "showing how much brothers and sisters thought of each other." It could also be seen in the type of behavior expected between brothers-in-law on the one hand, and sisters-in-law on the other. Brothers-in-law were generous to each other and could joke lightly with each other, but nothing even remotely connected with sex could be so much as mentioned in each other's presence. A man was circumspect in regard to his sister's husband out of respect for his sister, and to his wife's brother because the latter, out of respect for his own sister, had similar obligations toward him. Sisters-in-law behaved toward each other in like fashion. These attitudes were extended to include wife's brother's wife as "sister," rather than "sister-in-law," and husband's sister's husband as "brother."

Unmarried brothers of a man and wife likewise regarded themselves as brothers-in-law. A case which well illustrates the attitudes between them is the following as told by The Boy. "My older brother was married to Thick's older sister and we two young unmarried brothers-in-law experienced a most embarrassing situation. One of us was visiting a woman at night and the other came to the same woman, not realizing in the dark that his brother-in-law was already there. We recognized each other's voices, however, and the one who arrived last beat a hasty retreat. The matter has never, even to this day, been discussed nor so much as indirectly alluded to between us, and the embarrassment over this event led us to avoid each other for a considerable time thereafter. Eventually our relationship was deepened inasmuch as Thick married my sister. Even though my sister should die, Thick and I would continue to be brothers-in-law on the same plane."

[1] Kroeber, 1902, p. 10, calls attention to the identity of terms for "niece" and "daughter-in-law." Apparently a woman used the term "son-in-law" for her niece's husband or for her husband's nephew only if presents were given.

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603 versa. Grandparents, for instance, can tell folk-tales and stories, the subject-matter and details of which no parents would mention in the hearing of their children." A woman would think nothing of teasing her grandmother about men. The following is typical of the milder sort of joking which is customary, but which would be considered highly improper toward parents. "Coming Daylight's granddaughter came into her house to borrow a knife. The old woman told her: 'Don't lose that knife. I have had it for a long time and I love that knife.' Whereupon the granddaughter replied: 'Yes, you love that knife just like you love your sweethearts!' and the several women present had a good laugh over this joke." Again, Coming Daylight herself told of an old man who was grandfather to her maternal uncle and thus also her "grandfather." She said: "One day when I was still a young woman, this old man asked me why I didn't come to him to obtain medicine power from him. I replied: 'Oh, I wouldn't come to you because I know that you are one of those medicine men who includes sexual intercourse as payment, and if I came to you, you would try to have me too!' Of course I could never have said that to anyone in my parents' generation."

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Grandparents are said to have been indulgent toward their grandchildren. They might occasionally give advice, and indeed it was expected that a grandmother would train her granddaughter not only in skills and techniques, but also prepare her for what to expect on the physical side of marriage, warn her not to arouse her husband's jealousy, etc. When in trouble, however, a grandchild could discuss any matter with his grandparents. They would give counsel, but never scold. A man would usually not count on material aid from his grandparents, but, on the other hand, he was not expected to contribute to their support to any greater degree than he would to that of any old persons were they in need—namely, by giving an occasional present of food or clothing.

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### Siblings of the Same Sex

593 The relationship between brothers on the one hand and between sisters on the other was a more or less casual one. Family loyalty and ordinary generosity were expected, but formality was lacking. "A girl and her sisters could, of course, laugh and joke and tease

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about sweethearts or any other topic they wish, always providing that there is no other person present whom they must 'respect,' just as they can laugh and joke with women who are not related to them at all." Women who are on good terms tease and joke with each other a good deal. Coming Daylight and Singer for instance made remarks relating to sex whenever opportunity afforded. As an example, when one of them was telling of her marital experiences she said: "I was willing enough to get married, but I didn't like that particular old man to whom they gave me. I wrapped myself up in a separate blanket and wouldn't let him get near me." Whereupon the other old woman remarked: "I wish I had been there, I would have held you down!"—and this was considered a great joke. Again, while talking about modesty, or rather the lack of it among Crow women, Singer said: "That was in the old days and Gros Ventre women were very careful. These Gros Ventre girls at the present time—I don't think they even wear breech-cloths!" And Coming Daylight retorted: "If you were young now, you wouldn't wear one either!" In this vein then the two old grandmothers teased the present author as their granddaughter, saying to her: "We thought you had a husband. Why didn't you bring him with you to see us? Is it because you are afraid that we would take him away from you?"

Brothers can discuss any matters they choose, love-affairs included, but they usually do not josh and tease each other in public as do brothers-in-law, nor is the spirit of rivalry between them exhibited as it was with their enemy-friends.

Older brothers and sisters assumed a protective attitude toward younger siblings of like sex, and when in a position to do so would sometimes exhibit extreme generosity, although in this regard there was not the same sense of obligation which characterized the relationship with some other relatives. "It was considered unusual, for example, that Horse Capture, who had been urging his younger brother to be more sociable, gave away in his honor a horse and buggy on the occasion when the brother finally decided to join in the Grass Dance. But it was in line with the ordinary way of doing things that Horse Capture, who had been highly favored by his maternal uncle, privately gave to this young brother horses, as a start in life, when the maternal uncle failed to do

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*796 These were fastened to the center pole "at the top," so that it was "full of goods that they offered." The offerings were made by "those who made the dance." Such an offering was made, for instance, by the woman above-mentioned who joined the dance for the recovery of her wounded brother. As at the Sacrifice Dance, too, when the Women's Dance was over and camp was moved, the lodge, center pole and attached offerings were all left just standing there.

*796 302 The dancers, the two attendants and the "calf" or "calves," were painted, by the "boss" (and perhaps by others),—the dancers at least, "all over the face, then on top of the hair and down the hair hanging to the shoulders." During the painting the one painting would pray for the other being painted, and the latter might pray on her own account for whatever she desired, such as long life, medicine power, or other favors.

*796 533 Of the songs sung during the Women's Dance we recorded only one, number 66, a wordless one, sung by The Boy. The singing was done or at least led by the old man (or two old men) who sat at the back of the lodge, and was apparently (the point was not cleared up by us) joined in by the chief vower and "boss," and also by the "cows." The singing was done to the accompaniment of the deer-claw rattles mentioned previously, and without the drum. Those dancing did not sing while dancing. "The singing in the Women's Dance," The Boy remarked, "sounded 'old,' quite different from the way a young woman sings." To Coming Daylight's ear "it sounded fine."

*796 535 The dancing went on, not continuously, but intermittently, with intervals in between. Dancing was done by the "cows," attendants, and "calves," not by the "bull" who just sat in her place near the door with her horned headdress on and her head bowed down. The participants danced toward the back of the lodge, "kind of bouncing up and down in one place and shaking their heads from side to side." Coming Daylight, as a "calf," danced with the rest, near the door. According to Singer, the dances were done in series of four, as told her by one or two of her grandmothers who had been through the Women's Dance, and, if any of the "cows" did not get up to dance, the "bull" would "get busy" and "start

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to jump on them," simulating copulation, to the amusement apparently of the other "cows." Whether the chief vower and the "boss" took part in the dancing is not clear,—more probably they did not.

Intervals between the dancing were given over to smoking, chatting, feasting, and fun-making. In more modern times at least the women smoked for pleasure. The dancers were each expected to bring food to the dance, and feasting was an important element, the singers at the back of the lodge faring particularly well. During these intervals, too, the women would play all kinds of tricks on one another, such as taking some woman's belongings and hiding them. They would have "lots of fun," "laughing all the time" and "making lots of racket."

Apparently it was customary for relatives of dancers in the Women's Dance, as in other sacred Dances, to give away presents to third parties in honor of the dancers.

The more public and more spectacular episodes of the Women's Dance, as of the Sacrifice and Crazy Dances, occurred on the fourth and last day. To these features we now turn.

The "cows" and the "bull," all wearing their headdresses and accompanied by the "calves," left the dance lodge and went in a bunch to look for water in the creek and to drink. The "bull" followed to the rear, herding the "cows," and if one of the latter started to stray she would be punched back with the herd. Part of the time at least, the "cows" were "bent over, dancing like animals, and going on hands and knees." The "bull" would run after different "cows" and "jump on them," in mimic copulation. Coming Daylight, as a "calf" was told to follow one of the "cows" as her "mother" and try to nurse, but the "bull" chased her away when she approached her mother. In general, the "calves" were supposed to keep to the side, out of the way of the "bull."

After the drink at the creek, came the pantomime buffalo drive. The two "hunters" (cf. supra, p. 245) would make a fire outside the camp circle up-wind from the women, and as the women got the smell of the smoke, the "hunters" on horseback drove them, as in a real buffalo drive, and shot the "cows" or some of them with blunt arrows that did not hurt. The "cows" who had before-

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and they went back to their house where a crowd was waiting to see if the feather would really be found as the leader had predicted. The leader, Coming Daylight, and her husband Little Man, were in the crowd. The leader took the feathered stick and handed it to Coming Daylight, who said right out: "Oh, that is the very same one I saw him fixing. . . . How could a ghost hand fix these feathers the way they are fixed?"

Notwithstanding this public exposure, the leader [no doubt later and privately] told Black Wolf's wife that because she had gotten this feather from the dead she could get anything she wanted, but that he (the leader) would have to have [sexual intercourse with] her first. She told her husband and "when he found out it was a trick, he sure was mad and he went over and was going to murder that man."

Cora Chandler added that a lot of women were gotten through this trick, that there were many such Ghost Dance bosses, or leaders, and that they used to get cattle, horses, and anything they wanted, including the women.

Singer said that although she joined the Ghost Dance, she did not have to pay anything, but that her husband, when they brought him a message from one of his dead relatives, cried and gave what they asked, a buckskin horse, to the old woman boss. "They used to have women bosses as well as men bosses in the Ghost Dance."

Returns-to-war once came to Coming Daylight's husband, Little Man, and told him: "Your young brother, who got killed in the war, wants a horse, bridle and saddle." Little Man, who was a good deal of a skeptic in things religious, declined with the retort: "What is a ghost going to do with a horse and saddle?"

According to Al Chandler, "Jack Wilson got away with all kinds of things. Before he died he brought his son here to Hays and his son eloped with one girl, and that cooked his goose. They found out he was a fraud." According to Coming Daylight, "he [Jack Wilson] had a lot of women through that [the Ghost Dance]. He would choose the prettiest and best looking woman to make his smudge for him. He would have a little hut." At this point in the conversation, Singer broke in and would not let Coming Daylight continue along this line. We have come across no other

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cedure] where you pull [suck] it [the animal] out." When she would say that people would tell her: "You should have taken the power and so gotten a lot of things [in payment] for curing that disease."

Some women would refrain from asking power, particularly love power, from men who had it, because payment included allowing sex relations with the man.

While, then, the possession of powers brought the possessor some very worthwhile advantages, advantages differing in kind according to the specific power acquired, it had its drawbacks—chiefly illness and shortened life, but also restrictions on freedom and other obligations distasteful to at least some individuals. The advice, therefore, given by parents and councilors to avoid seeking power is understandable. So, too, is the fact that many neither sought power nor accepted it when it was offered by supernatural beings or by fellow-tribesman. Many thus clung more to what appears to The Boy and others to have been the ideal Gros Ventre philosophy of life: For the fulfillment of your wishes rely on yourself and on prayer, rather than on magical power.

We recorded a number of cases of refusal of power, some of them already cited above in passing. In no case of refusal except one did the person refusing suffer any evil consequences therefor, and two of our informants, Coming Daylight and Singer explicitly stated that such refusal curtailed no penalty. A person was quite free to accept or decline an offer of power whether made by a power-giving being or a power-possessing fellow-tribesman. Neither of the latter would take offense if the offer were declined.

Coming Daylight in various free chats volunteered many details of her own personal refusals of power. Her earliest experience came when she was a very young girl, only about eight years old, and was living with her grandmother. "I used to sleep in a big lodge [with her grandmother]. While I was sleeping, a man came and wakened me. He had a bag of medicine on his back and told me, 'You can be a medicine woman.' The third time he appeared to me [in dreams], there was a person lying there, just skin and bones. The man [with the medicines] said to me, 'You could cure such persons as this one. You can take all these medicines,'